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OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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[Title Page]

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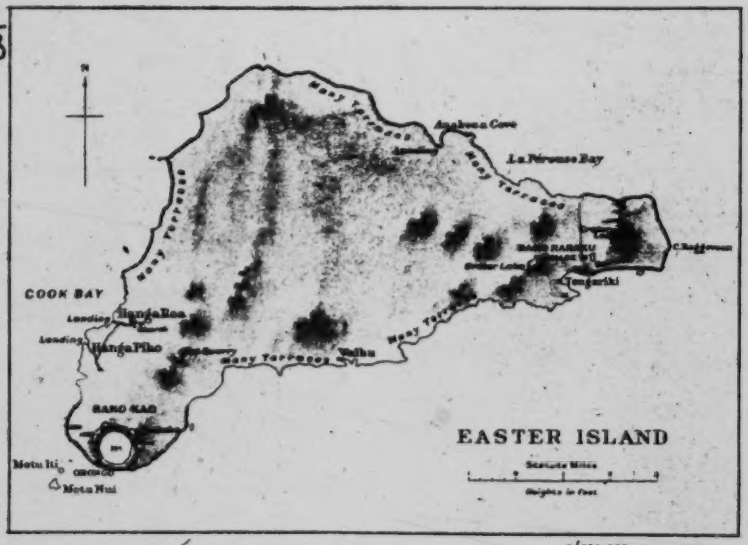

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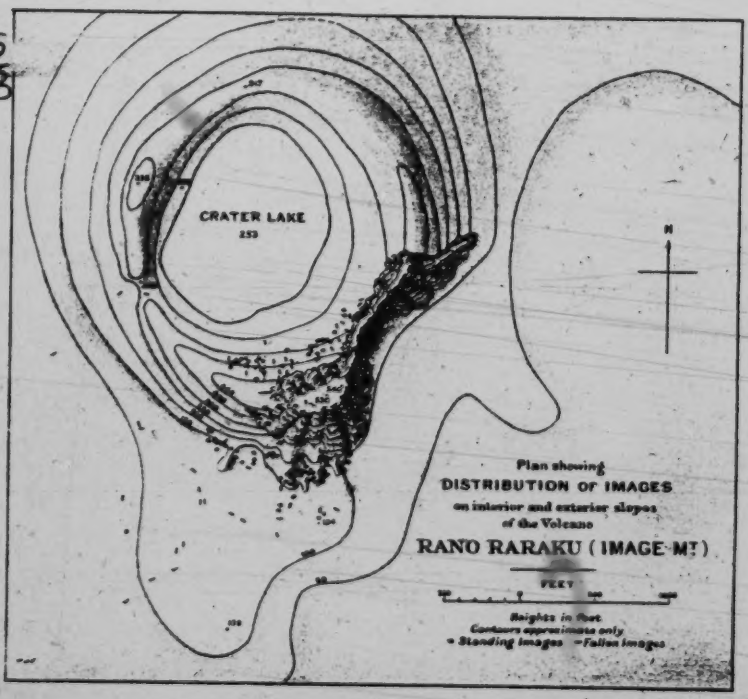

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EASTER ISLAND

[facing p 321]

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The Geographical Journal

Vol. XLIX No. 5 May 1917

EASTER ISLAND

Mrs. Scoresby Routledge, M.A.

Read at the Meeting of the Society, 20 November 1916. Map following p. 400.

EASTER ISLAND lies in the South-East Pacific some 2000 miles from the coast of South America, and it stands solitary and alone. Its first European discoverer was the Dutch Admiral Roggeveen, who sighted it on Easter Day 1722 and named it in commemoration of the festival. It was subsequently visited in succession, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, by a Spanish expedition under Gonzalez, by Cook, and by La Perouse. All these navigators commented on the enormous stone statues which they found on the island, surmounted by large crowns or hats. The Spaniards viewing them from the sea mistook them for big shrubs symmetrically set up; and when they found their real nature marvelled how natives could erect such figures on the small bases whereon they stood and could put their crowns in place. The Dutchmen solved the problem to their own satisfaction by stating that the images were not made of stone but of a compound of clay and flint, and it is interesting to notice that some of Cook's officers inclined to the same opinion. From that day to this the statues of Easter Island have remained the mystery of the Pacific, and the wonder of the place has been increased by the later discovery that the island at one time possessed wooden tablets carved with hieroglyphics of which no satisfactory translation has been forthcoming.

The island is nearly as remote from the outside world to-day as it was in the time of Roggeveen. It is far removed from all trade routes, and is visited in normal times about once a year only by a small schooner from South America. Passing men-of-war have from time to time described the island and its remains, but their sojourn has necessarily been short, the longest visit being that of the United States ship *Mohican* in 1886, which remained for thirteen days. Its problems have therefore remained unsolved. What were these statues? Whom do they represent? Were they made by the ancestors of the present inhabitants or by an earlier people? Whence came the race who reached this remote spot; did they arrive from the mainland to the eastward, or did they sail against the prevailing wind from the distant islands to the west? It has even been conjectured that Easter Island is all that remains of a sunken continent. Some six

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Some Six
122 years ago the authorities of the British Museum suggested to us that, if we wished for anthropological work in the Pacific, Easter Island offered the most promising field of research. The difficulties were obvious, the greatest being that of reaching the island, but we finally decided on the venture. We were fortunate in obtaining the sanction and support of the Government of Chile, to which country the island belongs, and also that of Messrs. Williamson and Balfour, who have a pecuniary interest in it. The little schooner yacht *Mana* was built for the purpose, and she sailed from Southampton on 28 February 1913 bound for Easter Island. The *Mana* is 126 tons Thames measurement, or 91 tons gross. She is 90 feet over all, and her beam is 20 feet. She has an auxiliary motor engine. Her navigating officers were Lieut. R. D. Ritchie, R.N., kindly lent by the Admiralty for navigation and survey, and later her sailing master, Mr. H. J. Gillam (now Lieut. R.N.). We were detained three weeks at Falmouth waiting for a favourable wind, and then proceeded by Madeira and Las Palmas to the Cape Verde Islands. Thence we crossed the Atlantic to Pernambuco, having a favourable passage of the Doldrums, and went on our way down the coast of South America. We anchored six times between Pernambuco and the Straits of Magellan, not only at the large ports of Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, but also in out-of-the-way sandy coves and rugged inlets, continually finding ourselves on the track of Drake, Anson, and other historic seamen. The exigencies of wind and weather and the necessities of food and water remain always the same for sailing ships, and we looked at a seafaring life from the point of view of the early navigators, which is an aspect very different from that seen from the deck of a mail steamer. At Punta Arenas in the Straits of Magellan we were detained six weeks by essential work on the motor engine, and it was fortunate that the alterations proved successful, as for the passage of the Straits we were obliged to rely entirely upon mechanical power.

000 The south-western extremity of South America can best be pictured by imagining the aspect of Switzerland if the ocean could be let into its lakes and valleys. Comparatively narrow channels lie between sheer precipices of rock, whose summits abound with glaciers whilst the peaks above are wreathed in perpetual snow. The lower slopes of these mountains are covered with a mass of tangled vegetation and flowering shrubs which, where the gradient permits, grow down to and overhang the water's edge. For such craft as ours it is only possible to navigate these waters by daylight, and owing to the great depth of the channels and to the incompleteness of the charting the possible anchorages are few. Hence traversing these waterways recalls games played in early youth; if the right number is not thrown, in other words if it is not possible to reach the desired anchorage before dark, the voyager must return to his last resting-place. On the other hand it may with good luck be possible to surpass the original estimate, skip one or two stopping-places, and reach a yet further anchorage. It is eminently desirable to have the greatest possible amount

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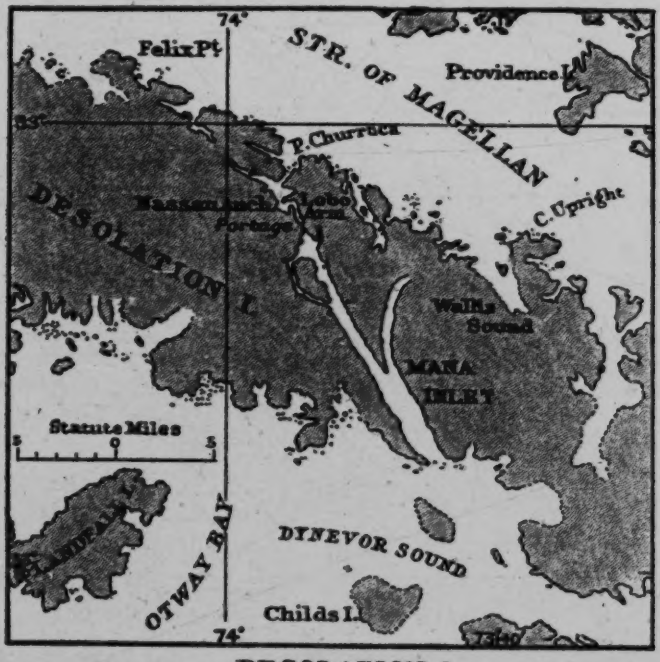
of daylight. We were there in the long days, and our "Summer Time Bill" therefore made a change of five hours in the ship's clocks; we breakfasted at 3 a.m. and called it 8 o'clock. At this the best time of the year the weather resembled a cold, wet English October, but we were fortunate in having few days when it was not possible to see and appreciate the view.

At Port Charruca in Desolation Island we were detained by bad weather and occupied our time in exploring the inlet in the ship's boat. At its termination was found the remains of an Indian hut, and closer investigation showed also a canoe portage. This was followed up 160



DESOLATION I.

MANA INLET

yards and found to lead across a narrow neck of land to a spot where the plan of the harbour vaguely shows the existence of water without giving any indication of its size or nature. This water proved to be a broad fiord stretching away to the south-east, no indication of which is to be found in the chart of Desolation Island. Fired with an ardour of exploration, we hauled the ship's boat across the portage and spent a day rowing down the new waters, every turn revealing beautiful vistas of sea and mountain. It was not possible entirely to complete the passage, but the waterway clearly led to the open Pacific coast and formed, as had been surmised, the north-

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western end of one of the unexamined inlets indicated on the ocean side of the island. It was thus proved that Desolation Island, instead of being a continuous whole, as shown on the map, is almost bisected. A knowledge of the existence of this channel connecting the Pacific coast with the Magellan Straits might be of high importance to the crew of a vessel lost to the south of Cape Pillar when making for the entrance of the Straits. Instead of trying to round that cape against wind and sea, her boats should run to the southward until the entrance of the inlet is reached. They can then enter the Magellan Straits without difficulty at Port Charruca.

In passing through the Straits no company of aborigines was seen, and it is generally believed that the Fuegan natives are now very nearly extinct. Their depredations on the sheep of the settlers brought its revenge, and a reward was at one time offered for natives' tongues. It is very desirable that this should be realized by the scientific world before all possibility of studying these people is gone for ever. On our passage through the Patagonian channels we were more fortunate. In approaching Charua, Brassey Sound, we noticed a column of smoke among the trees, and shortly after we had anchored two boat-loads of natives came up to beg for clothes and biscuit. The following day we went back with some of them to their encampment. It would be difficult to find a more primitive mode of existence. Their tents are formed by a rough framework of sticks, over which sealskins are thrown; these latter they remove when they go on to another camping-ground. They live on fish, principally shellfish and seals, and their goods consist of little more than a few baskets and some fishing tackle. We had an excellent opportunity of studying their possessions, as the whole camp removed while we were there, took to the canoes, and paddled off.

As we passed through Indian Reach another boat with natives came out and waylaid us. This party were more attractive and consisted of two boys, a young mother and baby, another girl, and an old woman. European clothes are worn when they are obtainable, but skin cloaks are also used, and sometimes all clothing is dispensed with. Though the day seemed to us distinctly chilly, we were amused to see the boys pouring water over their bodies to cool themselves after the exertion of paddling. The boys were induced to come on board, but the women resisted all blandishments and remained in the canoe. On Christmas Day 1913 we reached Hale Cove near the Gulf of Peñas. Here we had to wait thirteen days for a lull and a northerly breeze to allow us to make the 200 miles of offing necessary for safety. The beginning of 1914 saw us refitting at Talcahuano in the Chilean naval harbour, with the kind assistance of the authorities. Here unfortunately the geologist of the expedition, Mr. Frederick Lowry-Corry, contracted typhoid fever, which, after we had reached Juan Fernandez, necessitated our return to Valparaiso, where he was left in hospital. A severe attack and subsequent relapses made it

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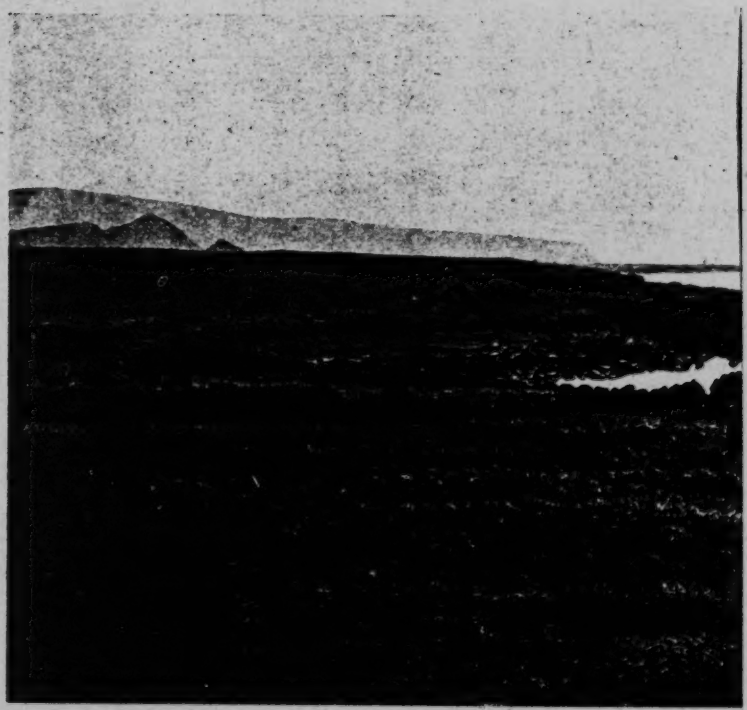

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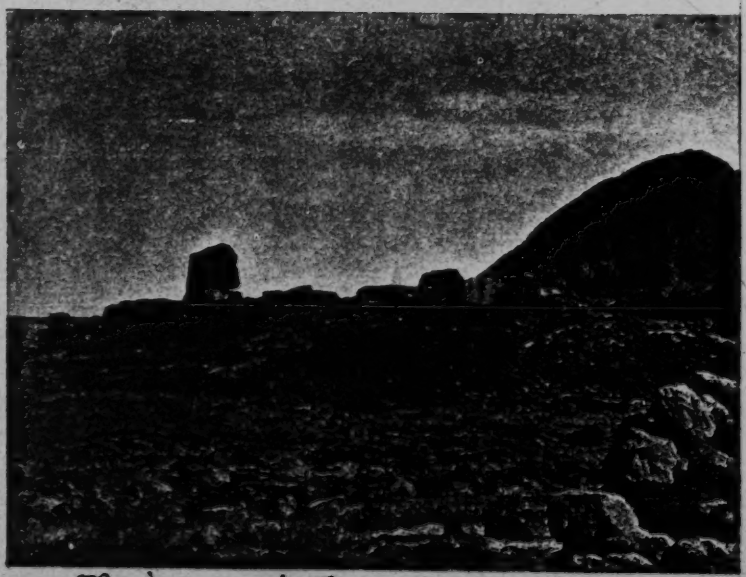

[facing p.324a]

GREAT AHU OF TONGARI

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A TYPICAL AHU FROM LANDWARD, WITH IMAGES ON THEIR FACES A

AHU OF TONGARIKI FROM SEAWARD WITH BASES OF FALLEN IMAGES. SOUTH

[facing p. 324b]

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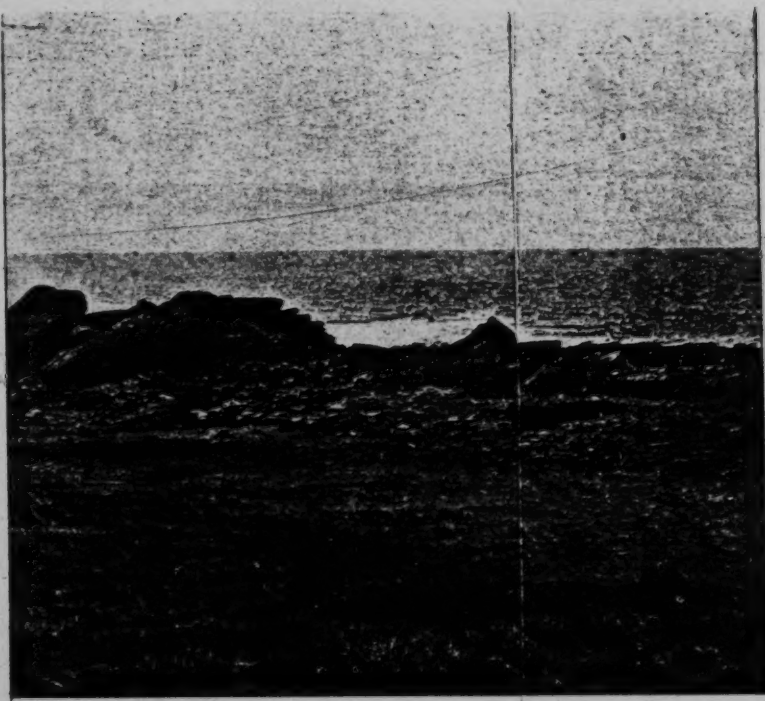

ON THEIR FACES AND "HAT" IN FOREGROUND

LEN IMAGES. SOUTH-EAST FACE OF RANO RARAKU IN DISTANCE

[facing p. 324c]

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ROUND

RARAKU IN DISTANCE

[facing p. 324d]

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[facing p. 325 a]

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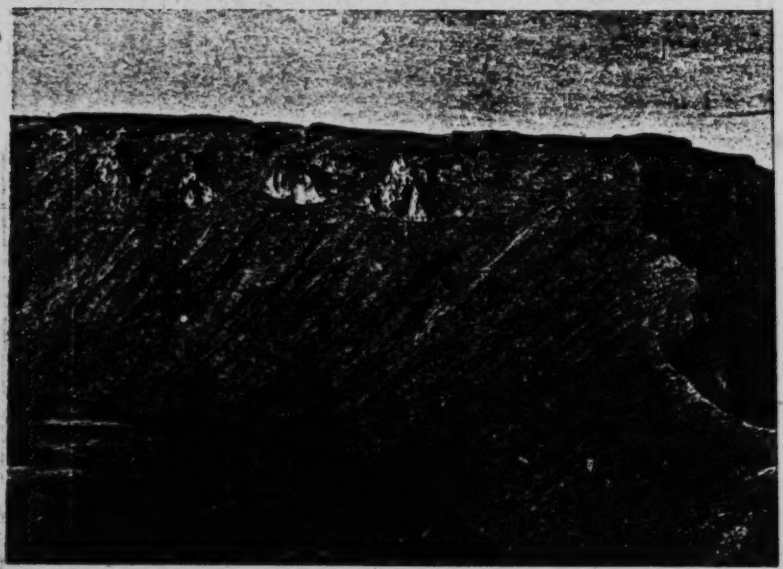

CRATER LAKE, RANO KAO; ORONGO VILLAGE AND SCULPTURED

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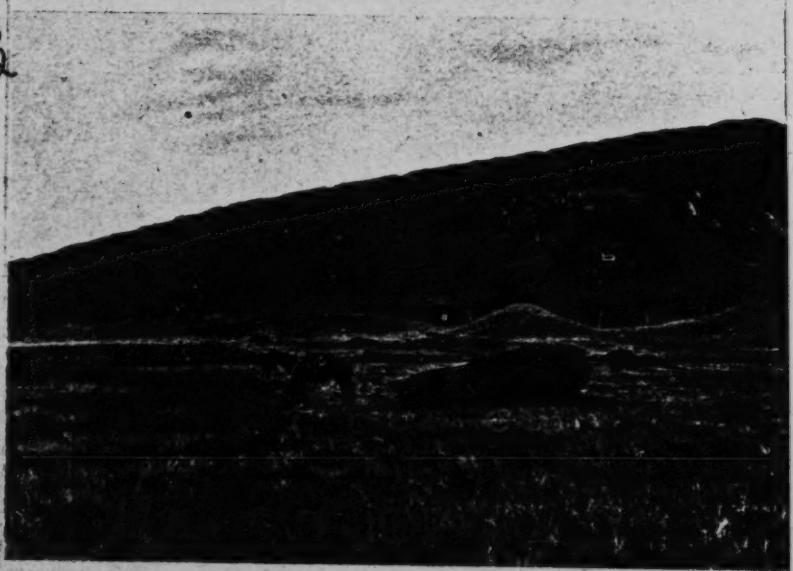

RANO RARAKU: IMAGES PROSTRATE IN FOREGROUND AND ERECT O

[facing p. 325 b]

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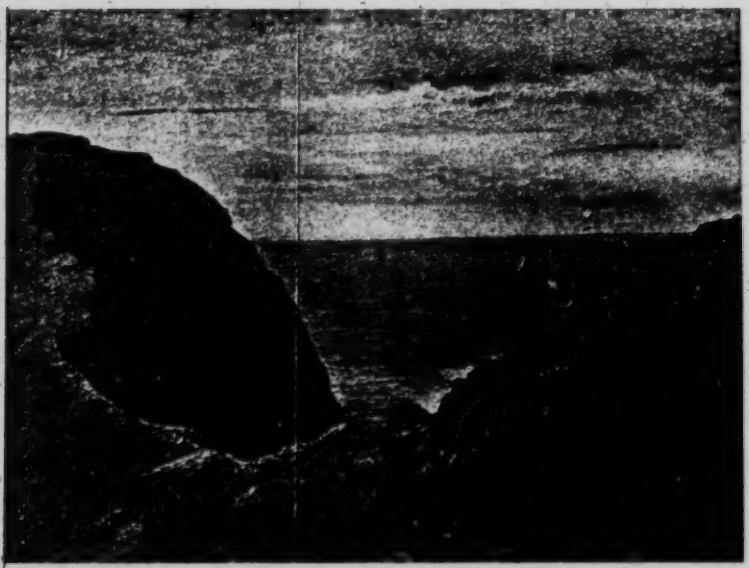

AND SCULPTURED ROCKS ON RIGHT

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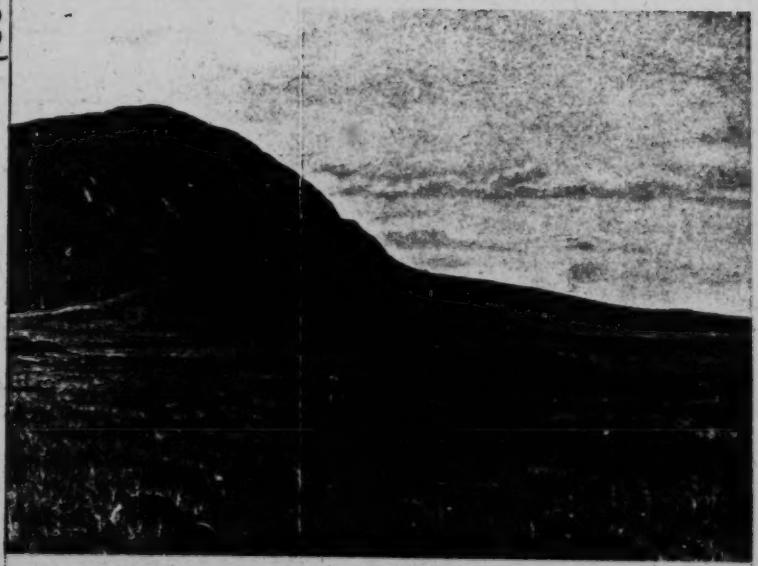

UND AND ERECT ON SLOPE: QUARRIES ABOVE

[facing p. 325C]

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S ABOVE

[facing p. 325d]

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impossible for him to rejoin us. He went back later to England, and fell in the service of his country in September 1915. The *Mana* returned to Juan Fernandez and waited there till the fear of further cases developing on board had passed. The island is strikingly beautiful, with high mountains, deep gorges, and wonderful vegetation. It has a few score inhabitants under the charge of one old gentleman as magistrate and some four gendarmes. Here the *Dresden* sought refuge after the battle of the Falkland Islands, and when found by our navy claimed that she was interned. The chief celebrity connected with the place is of course the renowned Alexander Selkirk. His cave is shown and also his look-out point on the crest of the dividing ridge of the island.

From Juan Fernandez we sailed westward for three weeks, and at length in the grey dawn of March 29 Easter Island was sighted. It was thirteen months since we had left Southampton, of which we had been 147 days under way. As our goal at last hove in view a hush fell over the party, broken by the despairing voice of the ship's cook, "I don't know how I am expected to make a fire on that island; there is no wood." He spoke the truth. Easter Island has probably never had much more than brushwood and shrubs; but to-day it is used as a cattle ranch by a Chilean Company, and even that vegetation has disappeared.

The island is of recent volcanic formation, triangular in shape and curiously symmetrical. The highest ground is in the northern angle where an extinct volcanic mass rises to 1700 feet. Both the eastern and western angles are also formed by old volcanoes. At these high points erosion has caused imposing vertical cliffs on the seaward side; elsewhere the shoreline consists of low cliffs only, rising to not more than 50 to 100 feet above sea-level. The main portion of the island is composed of sheets of lava in process of disintegration, across which walking is almost impossible, and riding a very slow process. It is diversified at intervals by cones of volcanic ash some hundreds of feet in height, each with its own small crater. Grass covers the whole area, sprouting up on the lower ground between the masses of lava and covering the hills in such manner as to give them a down-like appearance. A few of the craters have lakes, but there is not one surface stream, and the water-supply is a great difficulty. There is no safe anchorage, and after the *Mana* had landed the shore party and stores she was sent back to Chile for mails and fresh provisions. She made altogether seven trips between Easter Island and the mainland, covering in these passages alone 14,800 nautical miles.

The shore party consisted at this time of our two selves, Lieut. Ritchie, the yacht's engineer, who was also photographer, the cook, and for a short while a Chilean boy from Juan Fernandez. Our experiences on the island were of a more exciting nature than had been anticipated, but as they have already been told they need only brief mention now.

The native population is of Polynesian race, and numbers at the present time about 250. They are confined to the district on the western

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648 side, in which the village is situated, in order to prevent depredations on the livestock of the Company. The allotment of ground is ample. About 2 miles from the village is the house of the manager, Mr. Edmunds, an Englishman who was at the time of our arrival the only white man on the island, with the exception of a French carpenter who lived in the village with a native wife. Mr. Edmunds was good enough to allow our party the use of rooms in his house when we were at this end of the island. For our work at the other end of the island we had a camp near the mountain of Rano Raraku, of which more will be said hereafter. Soon after the *Mana's* departure the natives rose in revolt. An old woman had a dream that the island belonged to them, and all the livestock, though the latter had of course been imported by Europeans. They therefore defied all authority and for five weeks made repeated raids on both sheep and cattle, eating their fill and destroying far more than they could consume. The position was very difficult. It was obvious that order could only be restored by shooting, and if shooting was once begun it must be continued until complete safety was established. News however had reached us that the Chilean naval training ship which occasionally called at the island might shortly be expected, and it seemed wisest so long as property only was threatened to try and hold on. Things however went from bad to worse. The rebels ordered away the servants of the manager, and were actually assembling in the village to come and take possession of his house, with threats to murder him if he resisted, when to our very great relief the Chilean warship dropped anchor in the bay, and four of the ringleaders were shortly in irons. This was at the beginning of August 1914, and the vessel had left Chile just before the European crisis, of which consequently we had no news. It was therefore without any particular interest that two months later, in October, we heard of the arrival of a squadron of German ships—the fleet which subsequently met its doom off the Falkland Islands. We were at that time working at the other side of the island, and were merely annoyed that all our employés of course went off at once to see what they could beg from the new-comers. The ships, which were busy taking on board large supplies of fresh meat, did not think well to enlighten us, and it was not until five days later that the news of the war leaked out through the crews. Then we heard also that England was a Republic, as were Canada and Australia; that India was in flames; and I know not how many English ships had been sunk off the mouth of the Thames. Then Von Spee and his ships departed, and the quiet sea once more wrapped us round. The yacht was happily absent on one of her trips, and there was no news of her. Two months later, in December, my husband got the chance of a passage to Chile to see after her, and was unfortunately detained for weeks at Valparaiso by severe illness. Lieut. Ritchie had returned to England on the expiration of the period for which his services had been lent, and for this time—fourteen weeks in all—the ship's cook and myself represented the Expedition on

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the island. We received during these months another visit from the Germans. This time it was the cruiser *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, which for about a week used the island as a base to secure fresh meat and to coal from a captured French collier, which she subsequently sank off the island. On departing she left with us her prisoners of war, nearly fifty English and French sailors. When at length in the following March the *Mana* returned she was at once despatched with messages to the British representative at Santiago, informing him of the use to which the enemy were putting the neutral territory of Chile, and of a suspicious vessel seen in the neighbourhood of the island.

So much for our experiences on the island; let us now turn to the scientific work, and deal first with Archæology.

Easter Island is a mass of stones; it is also a mass of ruins. Every one who has come to the island, from its earliest inhabitant to recent ranch managers, has for one reason or another made buildings or walls of these stones, while every succeeding generation has allowed those of its predecessor to fall to pieces, if indeed it has not wilfully destroyed them. Certain things can of course at once be recognized as megalithic remains; but in the majority of instances it requires an education of many months to know whether tumble-down stones are, for example, an old burial-place or a ranch wall which has been allowed to fall into disuse. Unfortunately in some instances the ancient and modern are inextricably mixed. All the way round the coast are the remains of what have been known as the stone Terraces or Platforms, the native name for which is *Ahu*. An early manager was seized with the idea that the sheep injured themselves by drinking salt water and that it was necessary to build a wall to keep them from it, although the sheep had in reality found the streams of fresh water which flow into the sea below high-water mark. It was obviously most convenient from the manager's point of view to run such a wall along a succession of terraces, using their stone for its construction. Thus a large number of these unique remains have been ruined. Some also are gradually falling into the sea from coast erosion. The terraces have been used for the disposal of the dead; a few lie inland, but the majority are near the coast, and extend all round it, numbering about two hundred, all of which have been measured and described. They are of four different types. Of three of these—interesting as they are—there is no time to speak. The fourth is the type of construction on which stood the great figures noted by the early navigators. These terraces, or *ahu*, consisted of a long wall on the side facing the sea, averaging about 300 feet in length and 8 to 14 feet in height, flanked on the land side by a paved slope of masonry. Some walls are of comparatively rough construction; in others the stones are beautifully wrought and fitted, in some instances with great slabs as much as 7 or 8 feet in height. The wall consists of a central portion and of two wings, which are continuous with the centre but slightly set back from the sea. The

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structure contains vaults in which the bones of the dead were buried, and its surface was used for the exposure of corpses, which were wrapped in matting and supported on sticks. On the top of the centre wall is a level platform on which stood the images, each supported on a stone slab or pedestal. They had their backs to the sea and looked inland over the corpses and bones of the dead. No complete statue is now standing on its bed-plate. Luckily however the lower portion of one still remains *in situ* on the terrace of Tongariki. The images have generally fallen forward, and, in the best preserved instances, lie in a row on their faces; but in a few cases one may be seen lying on its back toward the sea. Some have been considerably damaged in the fall, but not a few are intact. It has been suggested that the images were thrown down by an earthquake. This possibility was carefully borne in mind, but nothing was found to confirm such an idea. It seems, on the other hand, certain that they were deliberately overthrown by the victor in tribal wars, and that this was accomplished by removing stones underneath the pedestals on which they stood.

The images never varied in their general characteristics, and the best idea of them can be gained from the one brought to England in 1868 by H.M.S. *Topaze*, which now stands in the porch of the British Museum. It is a half figure cut off at the termination of the trunk, and with the arms placed so that the hands nearly meet in front of the body. Careful study on the island made clear that it portrays not a standing figure but a sitting one. The length of the ears shows that the statues represent a people whose custom it was to extend the lobe: and this is one of the few clues to their history. A perfect idea of the hands can be obtained only by excavation of unweathered specimens.

Some of the images on the terraces have been more than 30 feet in height, but from about 12 feet to 18 or 20 feet are more usual measurements. The crowns on the heads of the statues were about 5 feet in height, and were made of a different stone—a red volcanic ash obtained from the centre of the island, where a small crater stands on the side of a larger volcano. A few unfinished hats still remain inside this crater, but a larger number are found on the side of the hill or on the low ground at its foot. They may have been in the course of removal to the terraces when the work was stopped. The crowns found here are nearly cylindrical in form; the work must therefore have been finished on the terraces, for the completed hat has a knob on the top and a hollow on the lower side where it fitted on the head of the image. This depression is not in the centre, but leaves a larger brim to project over the eyes, an arrangement noted by the earlier voyagers, who studied the question how the hat maintained its balance.

The statues were made in the quarry of Rano Raraku, an old volcano which stands alone at the eastern end of the island near the south coast. This is the most interesting place in the island. It was unfortunately never

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visited by any of the early voyagers, and we therefore ask in vain whether work was or was not being continued in it when their ships lay so near it. For three-fourths of its circumference the wall which surrounds the crater is symmetrical; it slopes with an even gradient on the outside to the surrounding plain and on the inside to the interior lake, while several carriages could be driven abreast along the blunt crest. The fourth part of the wall, that nearest the sea, is however radically different. It is higher than the remainder, rising to about 500 feet, and on the outside has a vertical wall of rock with a steep bank of detritus at its foot. A gap in the western side forms the easiest approach to the crater. It is either artificial or is a natural gap enlarged. The quarries are on the south-west portion of the mountain, which consists here of compressed volcanic ash which encloses numerous lapilli of metamorphic rock. It was this composition which gave to the early voyagers the impression that the rock was artificial. This stone has been worked both inside the crater and on the outer slope. In the quarries the statues may be seen not by units but by scores at every stage of completion, left precisely as they were when the work was stopped and the workmen laid down their tools. A large figure catches the eye, and on a shelf above is another nearly completed. As the visitor gazes the walls on either side transform themselves into partially finished giants, and a glance downwards shows that his foot is resting on a mighty face. In the early morning or as the sun goes down the silent figures seem like effigies of the mighty dead, and the place to be alive with the spirits of those who made them. There are in all about 150 partially finished statues. A diagram was made on which the position of every one was shown, and each was measured and described. This large number of statues in the quarry itself is very interesting and requires explanation. Some have evidently been abandoned owing to a flaw in the stone or for some other technical reason; but the question naturally arises whether they were all intended to be removed. More than once when at first evidence pointed to a figure or group of figures being designed to remain in their position, a similar neighbour has been found undercut, or an empty niche next door from which one has obviously been taken away. At the same time it seems fairly clear that some were rock-carvings only. The largest in the quarry, for example, measures 68 feet in length as against the 33 feet of the largest found outside. It seems difficult to suppose that the removal of this was even projected.

It is easy to trace the stages by which the images were completed and removed. Around a figure is a gangway in which the workers have stood, and frequently the standing place of each man can be seen, so that we know how many were at work on each side. The figure was chiselled out lying on its back, and it was then undercut till it assumed the form of a boat on its keel. The keel was then cut away and it was supported by stones. One statue can be seen actually in process of removal from its niche, and it has either been fractured in the process or else has been

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532 483 abandoned in transport and has since broken in two. It has been taken from a higher niche, and is being moved over two or three vacant ones across which it lies. The probable method of such removal would be to erect a causeway or bank of earth across such inequalities, and if the statue were abandoned while resting on this, it would break by its own weight as the earth was gradually washed away. We were able to find the tools with 412 which these statues were made; they had not previously been recognized although they lie around in abundance. They are of the same material as the lapilli in the rock of which the images are formed. In the parts of the quarries which are sheltered from weather the chisel marks are as clear as if the work had been done but yesterday.

532 In the detritus below the quarries a large number of figures have been set up. They all stand with their backs to the mountain; those on the outside look along the coast to the south-west, those on the inside over the crater lake to the north. Many of the statues have been buried by falls of loose material from the cliff wall behind and above them, and in some cases only the face or top of the head is visible. We excavated either wholly or in part some twenty to thirty of these figures. It was found that they had originally been set into the earth to about the height of the elbow. In some cases the diggers in making the hole had come across a rock, which they had carefully cut away to take the image. But though the lower part of the figure must thus always have been hidden, it is fully finished with the hands perfectly made. Excavation also revealed a design on the back of some of the images. This can be traced on the one now in the British Museum which when on the island was kept in a stone house; but it has been obliterated by weather from those on the terraces, only slight traces remaining. It consists of a threefold belt, which has a pattern below it, and is surmounted by a ring or sometimes by two rings.

It was clear that these statues had been intended to remain in the holes, for the base is sometimes found narrowed down and almost wedge-shaped, whereas with the images which have stood on the terraces the bottom expands. This contradicts the theory that the figures were placed temporarily on the mountain and were subsequently to be removed to the terraces. In one or two cases excavation was made to a lower level than the base of a statue, and it was proved that they have had no sort of foundation or pedestal, nor was there anything in the way of burial to be traced below.

In one case and one only a burial was found, at the back of a statue at above the level of the rings. In a few other cases there were isolated bones. These burials seem, however, to be comparatively recent and not originally connected with the statues. At the time of a great small-pox epidemic corpses were deposited any and everywhere.

A few carvings were found on the figures, and the back of one statue is covered with them, but they apparently are also more recent than the images and are of very inferior workmanship to the rings and belt.

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Some statues have been buried no less than three different times—the first the original interment to secure its standing, and the later by different landslips. The stages are seen by the lines of weathering on the image; and in some cases the soil-levels are also shown by lines of charcoal, apparently caused by grass fires. Owing however to this position on a hillside liable to landslip there is nothing which can definitely be relied on as pointing to date. As will have been gathered the figures have not been oriented, nor do they seem to have been erected after any particular method or design, being simply set up in the spot most convenient to the quarry, or sometimes in the quarry itself. 532

In addition to the statues which have stood on the platforms or ahu, and those erected on Rano Raraku, there is another class which presented considerable difficulties:—the isolated images strewn about the island, which are more particularly numerous in the vicinity of the mountain. These are all prostrate, and it is generally stated both by visitors and the natives that they were in process of being taken from the quarries to the terraces when the great cataclysm arrived, and they were then left lying on the route. From the beginning of our researches we had felt certain there must be an old road to be traced; but for many months we looked in vain, and the manager who had lived many years on the island could throw no light on the matter. It was finally by accident that its position dawned on us. A lazy ride one Sunday afternoon took one of us to the top of a small mountain. The sun was getting low, and with the light thus just right the track was seen clearly. It could be traced by shallow cuttings through the higher portions of the route and slightly raised causeways over the lower parts. At intervals along this route lay the statues. We subsequently rode over the track, and found that while in certain places it disappeared its general trend was indisputable. 532 487

Our energies were next turned to the statues in the hope of finding some key to the problem of how they had been transported, and we dug underneath one or two with no result. The more however we studied the matter the greater grew our doubts as to whether the commonly accepted theory that they had been abandoned in process of transportation was after all correct. The lines of weathering on some could clearly only have been made with the figure in a vertical position, while the cleavage in others was far in excess of anything which could be produced by natural causes and pointed clearly to a fall. Our last hesitation on this point was ended by discovering that in some cases the foundation of the statues had been dug out and that some even now have not altogether fallen. It was subsequently ascertained that there were three roads leading to the mountain which had been adorned with statues—one approaching it from the south of the island, one from the west, and one from the north. Some of the figures had fallen on their faces and some on their backs; but all if again erected would stand with their backs to the mountain. On the longest road these figures had been placed every few hundred

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yards for a distance of some six miles, and must have produced an imposing effect. We never found a statue of which we could definitely say that it was in process of removal, and we have no light to throw on the means employed, beyond the fact that graded roads have been made.

We trust that the result of our archæological work will be to give a reasonably full and complete survey of the remains as they at present exist on Easter Island. Another channel was open to us, in studying the history of the island, namely, Ethnological Research. No hope had been held out to us before leaving England that anything of value could be obtained from the existing natives. It came therefore as a surprise to find that there was still much of interest to be learned from the old inhabitants. Ten years ago more could have been learnt; ten years hence practically nothing will remain.

It must be borne in mind that in dealing with the history of Easter Island we have three periods to consider. Firstly prehistoric times whose story it is desired to decipher; secondly a period of one hundred and fifty years dating from the first discovery of the island, during which time ships touched at intervals and have left a certain amount of record of what they found; and thirdly the present period of European occupation. Between the two last periods there is a great break. In 1863 certain slave raiders from Peru carried off half the population, including most of the principal men. In 1864 Roman Catholic missionaries landed, and speedily converted the remaining natives to Christianity. Old customs died out; old tradition was despised. Only those, therefore, who could remember native life prior to 1863 or 1864 could give any assistance. There were on our landing some twelve old people who came into this category; but even so the difficulties in the pursuit of knowledge were very great. It would not, as will readily be understood, be an easy matter to reconstruct English life of fifty years ago merely from the accounts of old people. The Polynesians are in addition notoriously inexact in their statements. They frequently do not themselves know when they are speaking the truth and when they are relying on imagination. Each witness had therefore to be cross-examined carefully but without any doubt being thrown on his story, which would immediately have given offence. Then some weeks later he was discreetly re-examined, when he had forgotten his previous evidence, and his account compared with those of others. The statements which follow have been thus very carefully verified; but there is much in addition on which information was sought but on which it is impossible to speak with certainty or even to speak at all.

The first question which naturally arises is with regard to Tradition, "Do the present inhabitants know anything of the origin of the great works?" To this, speaking generally, the answer is in the negative. They take the statues for granted, and they are of no particular interest to them. One boy inquired with the pity akin to contempt, "Have you

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STATUES ON SLOPE OF RANO-RARAKU, SHOWING PARTIAL BURIAL

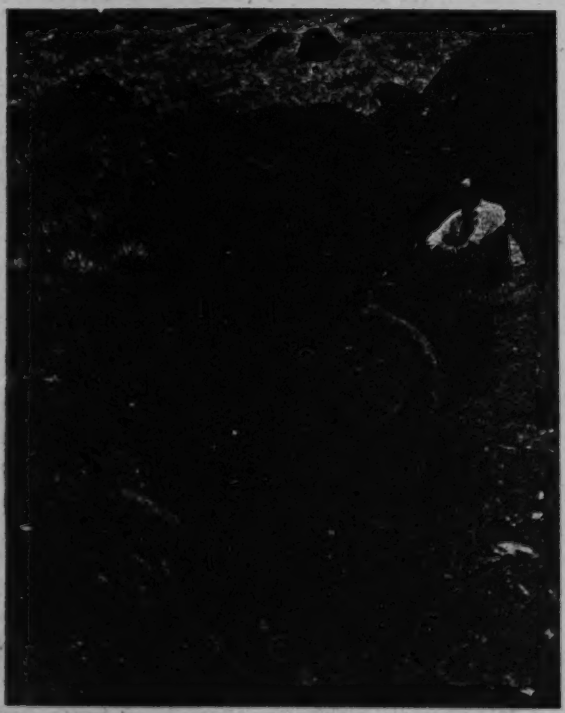

IMAGE STANDING ON RANO RARAKU, EXCAVATED TO SHOW HANDS

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BIRD-MEN CARVINGS ON ROCKS OF ORONGO

LARGEST IMAGE IN QUARRY WITH PLACE FOR WORKMEN

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no 'moai' (as they are termed) in England?" To ask the natives for the history of the images is as unsuccessful as to expect an old woman in the street to account for the statues in Parliament Square. The story which is universally told to account for the cessation of the work is as follows: "The chief person among the image makers was the cook; she was an old woman of great authority, and moved the statues by supernatural power ('mana'). One day on returning to the mountain she found that during her absence the workers had had a great feast of lobster and that nothing had been left for her. So great was her wrath that she threw down the statues and brought the whole work to a conclusion."

There are a considerable number of folk tales, but they deal almost entirely with wars between the different clans on the island, in which cannibalism played a large part. They contain an occasional allusion to the terraces, but none to the statues. Nevertheless when it has been stated that the natives are ignorant of the subject of the images certain qualifications must be introduced. They never deviate from the statement that the figures were made by their ancestors. They point out the first statue, a block lying on the outside of the mountain in which the worker seems to have involved himself in a certain amount of confusion between ear and shoulder. This man went, they say, to the other side of the other island to get information from an old man who resided there as to how a statue ought to be made. The man would not answer his questions, and the worker was coming away disheartened when the old man called him back. "Make the statue like me," he said. It was to be in the form of a man. Tradition points to a boundary on the mountain Rano Raraku which can only be the tabu line that preserved the image workers from intrusion.

On one subject it was possible to obtain information—the epoch when the statues were overthrown. They were standing in the time of Roggeveen, and many at any rate were still in position in the days of Cook. The last one was overthrown by the fathers of the present old men who as boys assisted their fathers—that is, about 1835.

There is a curious little piece of information preserved about this last statue, which is one of the tallest, measuring about 32 feet. There is a hillock near the terrace on which it stood, and it is said that after the statue was in place a causeway was constructed from this hillock to the statue, by which means the crown was placed on the head of the image.

Turning from tradition we sought to discover if there was any analogy between the details of the statues and native custom. In addition to their general form the images have three special characteristics—their hats, their ears, and the design on their backs.

If the form of hat could be traced and the people could be found who wore such hats, we should be appreciably nearer the solution of our problem. A careful inquiry was therefore made into native headdresses, but its results were suggestive rather than conclusive. It can hardly have

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532 291 represented any of the numerous feather headdresses of pre-Christian days. There was, however, a hat very commonly worn made of native grass, which has survived and is the almost universal wear at the present time. The general shape of this hat is not dissimilar to that of the images, except that it has a circular brim where the hats of the images have none, but project, as has been said, over the forehead. It may of course point to an adaptation in the stone or to an evolution in the shape of the hat; the point which is interesting is that in living memory such hats had a knob on the top similar to that of the crowns of the images.

532 304 In regard to the design on the back of the images we were more successful; it was definitely recognized as a tattoo design remembered by the older men.

The form of the ears elicited the most interesting information. We have seen that the images represent a race who artificially enlarged the lobe of the ear, a custom which is of course common in many parts of the world. The early voyagers noted that it prevailed among the Easter Islanders of their day. In reply to inquiries on this head it was said that women had the ears enlarged till the coming of Christianity, and two still survived with pierced ears, but such a custom amongst men was unheard of. By persistent search, however, an old leper was found who recalled the fact that the father of his foster-father had had such ears. He had asked as a child for the reason, receiving the illuminating reply that "the old people had their ears like that." Subsequently two other old men were remembered who had had long ears. The custom must therefore have been abandoned by the men towards the end of the eighteenth century. It is noteworthy that this makes the change contemporaneous with the visits of Gonzales, Cook, and La Perouse, and it seems highly probable that this is more than a coincidence. We know that the natives were greatly impressed by the white men, and that they were strongly imitative. In riding round the island we saw the remains of a very large house. "That," we were told, "was where they praised the gods." "What gods?" we naturally asked. "The white men who came in ships" was the unexpected answer. The worship took the form of erecting a crude model of the deck of a European ship both in these special houses and out of doors. Masts were put up. A captain was chosen who strode about and gave orders; the others represented the crew and imitated the various actions incidental to working a ship. The clothes obtained from ships were kept as stage properties for such representations. This custom was in full swing within living memory, and was traced back as far as the grandfathers of the present old men. It will of course be remembered that Cook was similarly taken for a god in the Sandwich Islands.

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532 We have seen firstly what tradition has to tell us about the images; and secondly what can be gleaned as to their history from the images themselves. There is still another class of evidence. Attention has been drawn to the fact that Easter Island has produced not only gigantic stone

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images but also small carved wooden figures. These wooden images, or some of them, are not only more recent, but they are in one sense still being made; that is to say, the tradition survives, and they are being manufactured to-day, though now only for sale to passing ships. Is there any relation between the stone images and the wooden ones? Two facts are clear, and strongly point to their being the work of the same people—they have the same length of the ear and the ring on the back; the short beard which characterizes them is also found in some three of the stone statues. On the other hand the profile differs considerably. 532

It has been suggested, not without strong probability, that these wooden figures are ancestral, and that their prominent ribs and sunken abdomen represent the starving condition in which the first colonists landed on Easter Island after their long voyage. The natives will not hear, however, of this solution. They are, they say, the figures of gods as they showed themselves to a certain king Tuukoihu. They were used as ornaments in certain dances, being hung over the chest and back. There is another type of the same figures, in which the ribs are not defined, which seems also to be old. The evidence regarding these might be clearer, but the natives in speaking of them give to them a large number of different names, and say they represent men, not gods. It appears probable that they were portraits, and this is borne out by the existence in the Pitt-Rivers museum of a small image with short ears of whose date and authenticity there seems to be no question, and which is said to be a portrait of Captain Cook. Another piece of evidence with regard to wooden statues exists which is even more suggestive in its bearings on stone ones. Among the most vivid memories of the old people are the feasts which used to be held in connection with certain large wooden figures called "Paina." Such a figure was made by a family who wished to honour its father, whether living or dead. It was large enough for a man to get inside, had long ears, and wore a crown of feathers. It was erected in front of an image platform, and was supported in its place by long ropes, while for three or four days feasting and dancing took place. In front of all the big image platforms can be seen holes up to four, five, or more in number in which the Paina have stood. [293]

So far mention has been made of the problem of Easter Island as enshrined in its great images. It will be remembered, however, that there is also another mystery—its Hieroglyphic Writings. These first became known to the civilized world after the advent of the missionaries. The natives say that the missionaries told them to burn the incised tablets as works of the devil. The missionaries say that the people were burning them, and that they endeavoured to preserve them. Whichever is the truth the result is equally unfortunate, that the great majority of them have been destroyed. A few fragments scattered over the museums of Europe and America are all that remain. The late Bishop of Tahiti had a valuable collection of them, but when we reached that island (and it was one of 212

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the reasons for our visit) we called at his house, only to find from the present ecclesiastical authorities that on his death his Easter Island collection had been dispersed and lost.

No form of writing is known in the South Seas, and various unsatisfactory attempts have been made to decipher the signs. Here again no hope was given to us in England that it would be possible at this date to recover the art, and we found that with these as with other articles of scientific interest, the natives had too long been aware of the value of everything old to leave much chance of obtaining objects of value. Every known place had been ransacked for such things to sell to passing ships. One old man indeed was reported to have five tablets hidden in a cave, of which when he last visited it two—if I remember rightly—were found to have rotted away. We approached him with every inducement, moral and material, only to be met with a blank denial that he had any such possessions. Whether he lied or not will never be known, for he died shortly afterwards, and as is always the case in these circumstances his hoard was lost.

The pursuit of the hieroglyphics was a tantalizing one. The old people could all remember the time when they were a living part of their civilization, and had known intimately those who could make and interpret them; but even to touch them was "tabu" to the uninitiated, and with the death of the last professors, many of whom were carried away by the Peruvians, the knowledge of them expired. One old man is still alive who had begun to learn the art, but his hand had shaken so that he had given up the attempt. In most of the more important villages there had been a house set apart for their manufacture, where no women entered. Here the professors taught their pupils. They practised first on the outside stem or bark of the banana, and then were promoted to write on wood with a shark's tooth.

The tablets were of all sizes, some as much as 6 feet long, and as far as was known their contents varied; some were said to be prayers, and some a record of names. It was possible to secure a certain set of words, which was universally said to be those inscribed on the oldest and most important tablet. The natives who recited it had as much or rather as little knowledge of the meaning of the doggerel as we should have if asked to interpret some of the more mysterious of our nursery rhymes. Authority over the tablets rested in old days with the head of that section of the people known as the "Miru."

The islanders were divided into ten clans who were constantly at war, but no one of them had a chief or ariki save the Miru clan, which inhabited the northern coast. The Miru as a whole possessed certain supernatural powers. Skulls have been brought from Easter Island marked with designs whose significance was unknown. These belonged to members of the Miru clan, and as such had the invaluable property of making hens lay eggs. They were carefully set apart in consequence.

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The Ariki or chief of the Miru was not a leader in war nor the fountain of justice, nor even a priest; he was the great authority on the tablets. The last great chief "Gnaara" died about a year before the arrival of the Peruvians. He was said to be short and broad, very fair, but so heavily tattooed as to look dark.

At Anakena Bay on the northern coast, where tradition says the first landing took place, a great gathering was held every year. One old man, Te Haha, gave us a vivid description of the scene. He had himself been there as a boy as a sort of A.D.C. to the chief. Gnaara and his son sat on seats made of tablets. Before them in rows stood the professors of the great art, with an aisle down the centre; each man had his tablet, and was called on to read aloud. If he did not read correctly our friend Te Haha was directed by the chief to take away the offender.

What has been so far said on the subject refers to the sacred hieroglyphics only. We were fortunate enough to come across another kind of writing, of a similar nature but different both in form and intention. This was found on a paper in the village, and the signs were noted as dissimilar from those previously known. The paper was traced to a certain old man, Tomenico by name. He was suffering from incurable disease, confined to the leper colony, and of impaired memory. It was however worth while to make an effort. The first visit was a failure, but on the second and third, with a different native escort, things went better. Tomenico was seated outside his house and asked for a pencil and paper. He drew a number of signs similar to those on the paper, writing across the sheet, and then said the paper was not long enough. The line had to be continued direct; it could not go on the next line, so another sheet was supplied. Other lines went underneath it. To each symbol he then recited a set of words. There was no doubt as to the genuineness of the recitation. When he was stopped that the words might be taken down he was put out and had to begin again. It was more doubtful, however, whether the symbols had any connection with the words; they were apparently used more as the beads might be in a rosary. Two more visits were paid in the endeavour to get the system of writing, but he was then very ill and confined to his hut. Every means was tried, but little that was intelligible could be arrived at, and the effort had with deep regret to be abandoned. A fortnight later he died. Happily another old man in the village, though he had little knowledge of the hieroglyphics, had lived with Tomenico in his earlier years, and it was possible through him to get at their drift with comparative completeness and certainty. This is too long to go into on this occasion, but it may be briefly said that they dealt with minor events on the island, which were arranged in cycles of ten years.

While knowledge of the statues has almost disappeared, and detailed acquaintance with the tablets is following in its wake, there was found to have existed yet another cult, with regard to which, living memory is still strong and clear. This is the ceremony connected with the bird-cult or

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194 the finding of the egg of a certain bird. It has been said that the western angle of the island is formed by a volcano, Rano Kao by name, and that by coast erosion its seaward side has become a sheer cliff over 1000 feet in height. The centre of the volcano is a great crater lake about a mile in diameter, and so far has the coast erosion proceeded that this is now on one side separated from the ocean only by a narrow edge along which it would be possible but not easy to walk. Beyond this cliff a small portion of the eroded mountain still remains in the shape of three rocky islets, of which that outside is the largest. This island forms a favourite nesting-place for sea-birds, and here in the spring (September) comes a certain migratory bird whose native name is Manu Tara. The whole life of the island turned on the question as to who should be the fortunate man to obtain possession of the first egg of this bird.

The clan which was in the ascendency at the time devoted the year to the ceremonies. In October they went into residence at the foot of the mountain at a place known as Mata-veri, now the European house, where they indulged in great cannibal feasts. In July they ascended the mountain and took up their abode at its top in the village of Orongo. This village consisted of a number of stone houses, some fifty in all, erected on the summit of the cliff and terminated amid a natural outcrop of rock just before it reached its narrowest point. These houses differ from anything else in the island. The village was carefully surveyed, and every house entered and measured. It has a particular interest for us, as from one of the houses was taken the statue now in the British Museum.

The actual competitors for the egg had to be duly nominated. This was done through a Medicine Man or Woman, who dreamed that a certain man was suitable in the eyes of the gods to find the egg or to be called in technical parlance a "Bird-Man." When he found it he took a new name, which name was also revealed in the dream, and that name was given to the year in which he was successful. The nomination might be taken up at once, or left for years, or descend to a son or grandson.

The competitors did not as a rule themselves enter on the actual search. They were important men, who preferred to reside comfortably in the stone village. They appointed representatives or servants who took up their station on the island, sleeping in a cave. When the flight of birds arrived, they remained for a short time and then took a temporary departure. The waiting men rushed out, and when the first egg was discovered the name of the finder's employer was shouted across to the mainland from the highest point of the island. The servant subsequently swam across with the egg, which was placed in a small basket and bound round the forehead. The happy winner immediately shaved his head and a fire was lighted on the mountain to inform the rest of the island that the egg was found.

A natural outcrop of rocks has been mentioned as terminating the village at its narrowest point; these are the carved rocks of Orongo.

[See 13: Routledge for detailed description of the CULT--Analyst]

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Between these rocks houses have been built of a pattern somewhat different from the others. These were occupied during the great function by the men who recited the tablets. The rocks themselves are covered with a symbol repeated in every size and in every position. It is a figure with the body of a man and the head of a bird. In one or more instances this figure can be traced as holding an egg in its hand. The symbol has been counted 111 times, and many more have obviously weathered away. There is no local tradition; but the inference taken in conjunction with other proofs amounts almost to a certainty that each of these represents the Bird-man of a year.

To return to the newly triumphant victor. Taking the egg in his hand he and his family danced round the coast till they came to Rano Raraku (the Image Mountain). Here the Bird-Man resided in a certain house for twelve months, during five of which he was in a state of strict tabu. The servant also became tabu and was compelled to eat food with his left hand only, the right having touched the sacred egg. The egg itself was suspended in the house of the Bird-Man till the conclusion of the year, when the new victor on his arrival took it out and buried it in a cranny of the mountain. In close proximity to the house of tabu is a roughly made ahu. Here only Bird-Men were allowed to be buried. These men were never exposed, as their corpses were considered uncanny. The bird ceremonies, now no longer held, were continued after the coming of the white men, and even after the custom of living at Orongo had been given up the first egg was still carried 12 miles across the island to the Image Mountain. While there are other possible theories, it seems to be highly probable that the statues on the mountain were the statues of Bird-Men.

The mystery of Easter Island is a puzzle of many pieces. We have, we trust, laid some additional fragments on the table to-night, and we hope in the future to put down all we hold. But others are still lacking to make the pattern clear. A large number of these must be sought outside the island itself. It is essential to know more on the general subject of Polynesian migrations, for it is improbable that either the type of image or the hieroglyphics had their origin on the island, and their earliest history must be discovered. We need to find elsewhere traces of the egg cult ceremony, or of worship of the same bird. In view of the progress yearly being made by ethnological research the general solution of the problem is probably not far distant, but it is tantalizing to realize how all knowledge of the once living detail and weird ceremonial which must have been connected with these gigantic remains is now gone for ever.

We left Easter Island in August 1915 after a total residence of sixteen and a half months. I do not propose to trouble you with the details of our homeward voyage, but you may care to hear something of our next stopping-place, the British Colony of Pitcairn Island. The inhabitants are, as is well known, the descendants of nine mutineers of H.M.S. *Bounty* who sought refuge here in 1791 with nine Tahitian women.

[see 12: Routledge for detailed description--analysis]

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The island, which lies midway between Easter and Tahiti, is a solitary rock, the remaining half apparently of an old volcano. We arrived on a Friday, and were greeted by a boat-load of sturdy men eminently European, or rather South European, in their appearance. They were mostly of a sallow white, though a few were darker in tint. They gave us a cordial invitation to come on shore the next day, which they said "will be the sabbath." This statement was somewhat puzzling till we discovered that they had been converted to the doctrines of an American sect calling themselves "Seventh Day Adventists."

We were most hospitably received and entertained as the guests of the missionary of this sect and his wife, and had a succession of attractive meals as the guests of various hosts bearing the names of the old mutineers. They are a self-governed community with an elected magistrate, and would compare most favourably in civilization with any English village. The whole inhabitants worked freely for us for two days in the excavation of certain sites, and a very good collection was made of old stone implements of the previous Polynesian race. There are remains of various stone buildings, and on one which had been built on the edge of a cliff three stone images had stood. The trunk of one of these images was still in existence. Hence there were certain general similarities with the culture of Easter Island, but in detail the structures, image, and implements differed too widely to render it probable that the one island had been a stepping-stone to the other.

From Pitcairn we went to Tahiti, where a year's collection of newspapers awaited us. Thence the homeward route lay by Panama, but trade winds rendered it necessary to take a northerly course by Hawaii and San Francisco, from which port I returned home direct. The *Mana* with the rest of the party arrived safely at Southampton on 24 June 1916, having been absent three years and four months, and having covered about a hundred thousand miles.

Before the paper the PRESIDENT said: I shall be brief because we have a great deal to hear and I hope we may have an interesting discussion afterwards. Our paper deals with the investigation of a remote island of the Pacific by Mr. and Mrs. Scoresby Routledge. Easter Island is interesting not only on account of its extreme remoteness, but on account of the unique remains of some—I will not say ancient civilization—but of some former inhabitants. Mr. Routledge will make a few introductory remarks, after which Mrs. Routledge will describe their adventurous voyage and the researches they made under great difficulties. Mrs. Routledge was left alone on Easter Island for, I believe, sixteen weeks while her husband went back to South America to get necessary stores and provisions.

Mr. SCORESBY ROUTLEDGE: The address to-night is to be given to you by my wife. She desires me to say a few words as to why she is giving it and not I. The point is this. You have lately elected ladies to be Fellows of the Society; and as I think a most worthy lady has most worthily carried out work of a character suitable for a lecture, it seems to me it would be much better for

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ber to give an account rather than that I should do so. I could take up an indefinite time in a yarn of the voyage and the incidents that occurred; but I think it would be better if my wife now addressed you, because it is very difficult to compress the result of three years' work within the space of sixty minutes.

(*Mrs. Routledge then read the paper printed above, and a discussion followed.*)

Sir HERCULES READ: I feel that an honour has been rather thrust upon me, in asking me to speak first this evening, and in crediting me and my friend Mr. Joyce with a greater responsibility for this expedition than either of us would be prepared to claim. The problems which Mr. and Mrs. Routledge endeavoured to solve are many, and I do not know what their hope was of arriving at a solution. But it is perfectly clear that they have brought back, even in these fine pictures we have seen to-night, some of the best evidence that we can have to aid in the determination of the problems that are presented by Easter Island and its history. Manifestly there are two main problems: one is the extraordinary images—and I must confess that I had not realised until now how wonderful they were and how unique. The other is the problem of this extraordinary writing, of which you saw one or two examples on the screen. On the American Continent, although not in that particular vicinity, there was a very well-developed system of writing or ideographs, but I can see no resemblance at all between those ideographs and the glyphs of the Maya or of any of the races which have used writing on the continent. There is only one single instance which might lead one to think of the American Continent at all, and that is, as my friend and I both immediately noticed, those stones with apparently regular joints and building surfaces bedded one upon the other, which anybody would at once see bear great resemblance to a familiar feature of Peruvian architecture. I have noticed in all accounts of these written tablets from Easter Island, that the natives chanted the song, tradition, or whatever it was. Now the alternate lines are reversed, one reading from one side and the next from the other. Is it not possible that they were written in much the same way as the English song books of the seventeenth century, when part songs were so printed that the two parts could be read from two sides of a table? There is another problem: How old is this writing? We are familiar with the evolution of pictorial writing, which passes through the ideograph until it becomes a mere convention and all idea of a picture is lost. Just as the Chinese of to-day was originally picture writing and has now become somewhat remote from the resemblance to anything pictorial, this Easter Island writing has got some way from the pictograph. Now with regard to other writings of the sort. Babylonian was a kind of ideograph much as we see in Easter Island until it became regular cuneiform: a result that took something like two or three thousand years for a race of high intelligence. It may well be that these inscriptions and these images go back a very considerable way. One thing has struck me very much: the enormous number of the images. Either they have been made over a great length of time, or there was a very large population on the island. I do not know whether the latter is possible; but it is one thing or the other. It must have taken either an enormous amount of time or a very large number of people to have produced so vast a quantity of these huge stone images, which can only have been made very slowly indeed. The interest of the lecture has been manifold; but I think these are the two points which stand out from the rest of the story as asking for solution. At present, even with the evidence and photographs before us which Mr. and Mrs. Routledge have brought home, it is too

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174 early to attempt anything like a complete solution, but I trust that the material which they have obtained will help to elucidate the real story of the Easter Islanders, their age, their relations, and the relations more particularly of their art and their written language.

Mr. T. A. JOYCE: I have little to add to what Sir Hercules Read has said, and I most heartily endorse all his remarks, especially in regard to the relation of the culture of Easter Island to that of the continent of America. It may be that the Polynesians reached the coast of South America; in fact, it is quite likely; but even if they did that fact would not help us with regard to the script, because no script at all has been found in South America. Even if they reached Central America we are brought up against another problem, constituted by the early manifestations of the great Maya culture, which do not appear on the West Coast, since that culture arose in the central valleys, whence it spread to either ocean. Of the Maya script the only portions at present which we can read in any way are the dates. The brilliant conjecture of Mr. Maudslay has been absolutely substantiated by later researches. Certain portions of these inscriptions are dates—dates which we cannot correlate with European time, but which form a connected sequence. By comparing these we are able to judge of the relative age of different monuments, and by this means it can be shown that the culture arose in the centre of the Central American Continent and spread east and west. If the Easter Island monuments are of a considerable age—and their number seems to point to that, because it appears to me absolutely impossible the island could have been thickly populated—then, having regard to our present idea of the antiquity of American culture as a whole and the time at which the earlier culture reached the western coast of America, it seems very unlikely that any early Polynesian voyagers, if they did touch the American coast, would have found any American culture there at all. I shall be most interested to look into the results which Mr. and Mrs. Routledge have brought, and I congratulate them most heartily. It has come to my lot to go into the literature of Easter Island; but I do not know that I ever realized the enormous amount of human labour that has been spent on that island. It is almost incredible when you think that all these enormous statues are cut with stone tools. There is just one other point which adds to the problems of the island. A few years ago, when Lord Crawford made his voyage, he brought back a lot of skulls which were deposited at the Natural History Museum, whither I went to measure them. I then wrote a paper which I never published; it remained both literally and metaphorically a skeleton in my anthropological cupboard, because I could not get away from the conclusion that in their measurements and general appearance these skulls were far more Melanesian than Polynesian. And I do not think I should have been bold enough to say this now if it had not been that quite recently Mr. Pycraft has been going over the material and studying the matter, and he, without knowing anything of my results, which I had carefully hidden, came to the same conclusion.

Mr. MAUDSLAY: I am shy of saying anything of the possible connection between Polynesian and American culture, because it is usually stated that American culture came from the north-east of Asia. However there is the possibility if not probability of some such connection, and I am delighted to hear Sir Hercules Read and Mr. Joyce refer to it. The one great difficulty in my mind about the connection with North-Eastern Asia is that no Asiatic grain, no Asiatic cultivated plant, was found in America; and that the Americans had had time to develop that wonderful maize plant which became, as you know,

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the staple food for America, and as soon as the Spaniards discovered America, became a staple food all over the world. If the connection occurred through Polynesia the difficulty would disappear, for Polynesians coming from tropical oceanic islands are not likely to have brought any grain such as rice, millet, or wheat with them. The development of the maize plant from an unknown stock must, I think, take American culture as far back as the very misty days of the development of the wheat plant in Asia. There is one other point. Not much has been said as to how the Easter Islanders got to the island. If you look at the map you will see that there is a chain of islands, very long distances apart, that lead more or less to Easter Island. The voyages were made in canoes, but the canoes were not perhaps quite like the canoes you may have in your minds; they were really vessels of considerable size. I often scrambled about Thakombou's huge double canoe in Fiji, when it was under repair beneath a great thatched shed. It was called the "Tavuki ni Vanua," that is "The Upsetter of the Land," the suggestion being that if it struck an island it was the island that would sink. One of the twin hulls, if my memory serves me, measured about 100 feet long, and the other measured over 70 feet. A very considerable amount of food could be stored in such a canoe, and they were more seaworthy than one would imagine. The last of the great Tongan canoes, the "Loma la Blau," that is "The Beater-down of the Waves," had disappeared before I reached Tonga in 1878, and the great Fijian canoe given by Thakombou to King George of Tonga had already been broken up. The lattice-like rafters of a room in my house were cut from the greenheart of which the hulls were made. The question of the peopling of the Pacific Islands is one of the greatest ethnological puzzles, and I most earnestly hope that this is not the last paper we shall have from Mr. and Mrs. Routledge on the subject. They have been to the furthest eastern corner of Polynesia, and I should like to induce them to go on another expedition and start at the north-west. We want to know more about the 'Caroline Island Venice,' where the canals are bordered by huge basaltic columns which have been brought from a considerable distance, and where there are great masses of basaltic rock piled up to form the tombs of the chiefs; and we want to know more about the other megalithic monuments which are known to exist on many of the islands. I hope that Mr. and Mrs. Routledge, encouraged by the success of their enterprise, will not give up the quest, and will be able to throw yet more light on the culture and migrations of the Pacific Islanders.

Mr. BASIL THOMSON: I am sure that Mr. and Mrs. Scoresby Routledge will forgive me for wishing that they had lived fifty years ago, when the ancient customs and traditions of the natives were still comparatively untouched. The great problems that have been raised in this very interesting paper are, as Sir Hercules Read has said, the megalithic monuments and glyphic writing; but I was much struck with the remarks of Mr. Joyce, who noticed Melanesian characteristics about the skulls brought back from the island. I have long had doubts as to whether the people were pure Polynesians. There has certainly been a Melanesian admixture in some of the other Polynesian islands. I noticed this at Niué (Savage Island), where in the village of Avatele at the south end of the island the natives have many of the Melanesian traits, and this is supported by their traditions. I found two Niuéans from the New Zealand contingent at a hospital in Eaton Square the other day, and while one was certainly Polynesian in type, the other was as certainly Melanesian. Among the traditions that have come down to us from Easter Island—I do not know how far it is authentic—is the story that when the first ancestors of the

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174 present race reached the island they found another race in possession, whom they called "Long Ears." Of course it is quite possible that this occurred in some other island at which they touched, and not at Easter Island at all. At any rate there were sanguinary conflicts between the two, and the Polynesians made use of a stratagem and prevailed. Writing of the "Long Ears" Roggeveen says, "When these people go about any job that might set their ear-plugs waggling and bid fair to do them any hurt, they take them out and hitch the rim over the top of the ear, which gives them a quaint and laughable appearance." Obviously the ear of the statues was the ear that the people of Roggeveen's time were wearing. It does not follow that they did not adopt the idea of enlarging the ear from people they found there, or met before their arrival. It was a suggestively Melanesian custom. As to the date of the first immigration, the natives used to give the names of fifty-seven paramount chiefs. Allowing fifteen years as the average reign in an island where tribal wars were frequent it takes us to about 1000 A.D. for the arrival of Hotumatua, the first recorded chief. Something was said about the population. The early voyagers estimated it at 2000 and at 3000. It was a rough guess, because they did not go all over the island, but, in view of the small supply of water and the poor quality of the soil, probably it was fairly correct. Clearly the object of the statue-making, and of what are known as the domestic idols, was religious, and here I venture to make a tentative suggestion. I do not know whether you have read one of the classics of South Sea travel—I mean Melville's 'Typee'; if not you ought to lose no time in doing so. Although Melville was a vagabond and a waster, subsequent discoveries have proved that he was a remarkably truthful observer. He relates how, when roaming about the forest of the Typee valley in the Marquesas, with Korikori his native body-servant, he came upon a huge wooden statue with staring eyes, much decayed by the weather, and standing on a stone platform after the fashion of Easter Island. He relates also how the Typee priests kept little wooden images as oracles, and when they were consulted by the warriors they took one out, whispered their question into the idol's ear, and then held the idol's mouth to their own ears as if listening to the reply, much as little girls make use of their dolls when they wish to confound their nurses with an oracle. Here we have all the religious apparatus of Easter Island, only 900 miles distant, and I suggest that it was quite natural for a people who had been in the habit of fashioning wooden statues, when they arrived at an island destitute of timber, and an island, moreover, where there were obsidian tools instead of stone tools, they should fall back upon stone as the *materini* with which to carry on their religious practices. When Gonzales visited Easter Island in 1770 he saw a large "Judas," 11 feet high, made of wickerwork, stuffed with hay and covered with native bark, being carried on a kind of litter. I suggest that this figure was the representation of the dead chief, made to preside at the funeral feast while the permanent statue was being cut in the quarry. It is quite consistent with Polynesian practice that the quarrymen should be a hereditary clan, protected by the *tabu*, just as the *Ta-maka* stone-mason clan was treated in Tonga. It is also consistent that in times of civil war each side should desecrate the tombs of the other by throwing down its images. There will be much more to say when Mrs. Routledge's book comes out, for I feel that she must be keeping a great deal in reserve; but even in this paper she has added much to our knowledge of this extraordinary island. In conclusion I should like to ask her one question. The Americans found in 1886 a statue terrace on the face of a cliff nearly 100 feet high, to which there was no approach at all.

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If there had ever been one the sea must have washed it away. Has she any theory about this terrace? I should like also to add that Bishop Jenson's collection of inscribed tablets, which appears most unfortunately to have been dispersed after his death in Tahiti, was examined by M. de Harlez of Louvain, and that he came to the conclusion that there was no sense or significance in the writing. He records, however, the interesting fact that some of the characters were inscribed on a piece of a European oar, which shows that the art was preserved until within the last few decades.

Mr. HENRY BALFOUR: I am very glad of this opportunity of offering my congratulations to Mr. and Mrs. Routledge on the extremely successful issue of an expedition which involved both difficulties and dangers, and which bids fair to add very considerably to our knowledge of Pacific ethnology. I was much interested in the remark which Mr. Joyce let fall. He suggested probable Melanesian affinities in the earlier Easter Islanders, judged from their skull measurements. The same kind of idea, though based upon cultural remains, has occurred to me. I cannot help feeling that if we are to seek for affinities in the culture of the Easter Islanders, we must look to the West rather than to the New World. I gather that New-World influence is practically ruled out. The only evidence in its favour is found in the mode of construction of the terraces. But I think we may find elsewhere a number of suggestive analogies; at any rate, as we have to cast our net very far and wide, we must take all kinds of possibilities into consideration. The chief things, I think, to be noted in the material culture of the Easter Islanders are the gigantic statues, the wooden carvings, rock engravings, the obsidian implements, and the script; all these things are characteristic of Easter Islanders—so characteristic, in fact, that it is impossible to mistake them for the products of any other people. They are absolutely peculiar, and yet at the same time, in looking for traces of analogy or similarities, one can find hints in other parts. The script, it is true, is a complete puzzle, since among the islands of the Pacific no script seems to occur until we come to the western Caroline Islands. The obsidian implements find a parallel in British New Guinea, and also resemble very closely certain chert implements from Chatham Island. When we turn to the carvings, I think there are some interesting points which it may be worth while to follow up, and they lead us directly into the consideration of the possibility of Melanesian influence in the culture of Easter Island. That peculiar mythical figure, half man, half bird, is, as far as I know, only to be found elsewhere within the Melanesian area in the Solomon Islands, where such figures are of very common occurrence, and where may be seen bird-headed human figures, human-headed bird figures, birds with human hands and arms, and other bird-human compromises. These things have not been worked out at all thoroughly. We do not know the true significance of them; but at least we can see that there is a very close parallelism between them and the Easter Islanders' similar productions. I throw this out merely as a hint: that we should look to Melanesia for possible help in the explanation of the curious bird-cult which is observable in Easter Island. I think one might go further than that. Still keeping in mind the Solomon Islands, one can draw attention to the fact that the facial type, together with the long ears which appear on those huge monolithic statues in Easter Island, is, as far as my own experience goes, only to be paralleled by wooden carvings of the human form which occur in several of the islands of the Solomon group, and which have similar features very strongly marked; the long and concave form of the nose, the prognathic shape of the lower part of the

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face, the long ears, and the red cap on the top of the head. Just one other point. Apparently *both* in Easter Island and in the Solomon group these very similar renderings of the human form, which have so many points in common, appear to be associated with a *bird cult*. I shall not detain you longer, although a discourse such as we have enjoyed this evening suggests a great many things to one's mind. I should like to add my cordial thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Routledge for the increase in our knowledge of these eastern outposts of the islands of the South Pacific, and I thank them very heartily indeed for having brought back fresh material which I hope will shed new light upon the ethnological problems of that ocean.

Dr. J. W. EVANS: I would like to ask only one question. Could Mrs. Routledge tell us what are the affinities of the language of the people of Easter Island?

Dr. H. O. FORBES: The previous speakers, especially Mr. Balfour, have dealt with some of the points I had intended to refer to; but I should like to express my opinion that the stone monoliths and the wooden figures can hardly be of the same age or the work of the same people. I wish to put on the screen a photograph of two wooden figures now in the British Museum, taken from pre-Inca graves, which I recently brought from Peru. They recall in the shape of the ears and nose the wooden figure exhibited to-night from Easter Island, suggesting perhaps a connection between the art of the two regions. Then as to the script, I place on the screen a second slide, that of a petroglyph in a cave in the Chatham Islands some 500 miles east of New Zealand—where also similar hieroglyphs occur—in which there are similitudes if not characters identical with those of the Easter Island tablets. In the years previous to his death I had many interesting talks with my old friend Fleet-Surgeon Palmer, who was an officer of H.M.S. *Topaze*, which brought over the two monolithic figures now at the British Museum, and he agreed that there was a curious suggestion of the one in the other.

One of the greatest losses to Easter Island ethnography, which can never be repaired, was the disposal by auction of Fleet-Surgeon Palmer's unique collection made on his different visits to the island close on fifty years ago. He possessed, I recollect, a larger number of inscribed tablets than any collection I know of. This collection was offered by his family to me as Director of Museums for Liverpool, but my trustees declined the purchase of "objects from such a remote and uninteresting place." It was probably declined elsewhere, since it was dispersed by auction. Two valuable papers by Palmer are to be found, one in the *Journal of the Ethnological Society* for 1869, and another in that of this Society for 1870. To neither of them has any reference been made to-night, though they are of special interest from the date of the visits they describe. There was a greater number of the images standing then than now. Palmer collected also several especially interesting traditions, among them one of the island being populated by a boat's crew driven on it by chance; and another about the egg-collecting ceremony. The account of the latter given to-night appears, however, to be a much more elaborated story than the one current fifty years ago on the island, and careful inquiry appears to be called for whether the tradition has not received accretions in the interval. The ceremony appears to me to have arisen in any case from the eagerly awaited return of the nesting season of the birds during years of famine and great scarcity. Palmer mentions the presence in these glyphs of animals, such as the turtle, not belonging to the island fauna, and it was interesting to note that the script specially written by the old and dying leper for the

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lecturer contains also a turtle or tortoise, indicating that the script was to some extent correctly remembered, if not entirely understood. Palmer also states that the priests wore wooden balls, specimens of which he obtained, hanging from their ears. The origin of the astonishing culture seen on Easter Island is, of course, the most interesting question awaiting elucidation. The latest theory is that of Prof. Elliot Smith, who holds that it is part of what he designates the heliolithic custom, which spread from Egypt after the year 900 B.C. all over the world, and is to be recognized everywhere by its exponents building megalithic mausolea, holding peculiar beliefs regarding stone images and mummification, worshipping the sun, and having their wives' chins tattooed. It is certainly difficult to recognize the hall-marks of this civilization on Easter Island. Palmer tells us that the men and women tinted their bodies, and had some dots over the eyes; but the lecturer did not mention chin tattooing on the island. The culture of Easter Island, as known to-day, seems to extend a hand both to East and West. To all who have seen or studied Peruvian masonry the piece of wall shown on the screen recalls at once, as remarked by a previous speaker, that of the pre-Inca stonework—a resemblance which I cannot believe to be fortuitous. Then the stone image found many years ago below some 60 feet of guano on one of the Peruvian Islands strongly resembles the smaller Easter Island figure at the British Museum, while the swimming-pillows of the natives would seem to be an echo of the caballitos of the fishermen of northern Peru. On the other hand, the stone fish-hooks obtained by Palmer, the use of the ground cooking-ovens, the clubs of wood like the *meré*, and the double-headed paddle suggest a connection with New Zealand. After all one cannot help the conviction that the present people are not the original inhabitants of the island, though they may have some of their blood, and that they are not the sculptors of these huge images which form the mystery of that lone ocean volcano.

Sir HENRY HOWORTH: I should like to suggest one other solution of this problem. The island of Sumatra where the Malays occupy the coasts, and where the Malay community and the Malay race were probably originally created by an admixture of Polynesian blood with that of the natives of the interior, is a place to which reference has not yet been made in this discussion. It is the only place I know where inscriptions in the least like those found on Easter Island are to be found among the wild races, such as the Battas. It seems to me that the Malays may perhaps have had something to do with the primitive people of Easter Island. Before they were knocked to pieces by the Arabs they sailed over all the seas which were accessible to their ships, and they must have gone a very long way, because they probably carried the Polynesian race to Madagascar. The French have recently found a great deal which is most interesting with regard to Polynesian element in both the language and the customs of the Hova race, the aristocracy of Madagascar, who conquered and absorbed an earlier race of African blood. They have shown that the invading and conquering race was imported into Madagascar before the Hindoo elements were imported into the Malay language. That takes you back a very long way, for these elements were imported at the time that Java received its Hindu religion, and the Malays of Java became Brahmins. I have little doubt that the Malays in the day of their glory visited Japan as they did the various islands of the Eastern Archipelago as far even as New Zealand, while some straggling ships that had lost their way might have gone anywhere that the wind would take them. With regard to the Easter Island images, you have in Sumatra a series of images which have a generic resemblance, very much more close

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than any other I know, to these figures, closer than any of the great stone images you get in the Caroline Islands and those of the central groups. It seems to me that at the time when the Malays were in their glory it must have been a stray ship that found its way there and took some of their ideas, including the art of cutting which they possessed at home, just as it was a stray ship that took the *Bounty* seamen to Pitcairn Island. There is great difficulty, of course, in all concerted movements in the Pacific; it could only be done with big ships and by sails. In the old days of which we have extraordinary accounts in the Indian poets, before the Arabs, and when the Malays commanded the Eastern seas with their great craft, you have, it seems to me, a possible solution of our stupendous difficulty; Sumatra, at all events, is the only place I know of where you have inscriptions written in characters which have a generic resemblance and fraternity with those that occur on these tablets and with these great statues. I quite agree with my friends on the right that neither of these features has anything whatever to do with the inscriptions and big stones in these islands. Nor do I think that the ancestors of the present indigenes had anything to do with the monuments. The Polynesians are very barren in artistic capacity; they are far below the Melanesians. Nor do the wooden figures with their curled beards and strange aspect suggest Polynesian source. Still less do the so-called gorgets which are inscribed with the same characters as the tablets, and have similar heads at the ends of the lunar points. They have a look very foreign to the Pacific. One word more. Like every other speaker I must emphasize the obligations these two delightful travellers have put us under, not only in Easter Island and Pitcairn Island, but in their fascinating book on Africa. I could say more about them if it were not so late.

Mrs. SCORESBY ROUTLEDGE: It seems certain, as has been said, that we must look to the West and not to the East for the original home of the Easter Islanders. The chances against any particular boat reaching so small and remote a spot must have been very great; the fact remains, however, that it has been achieved. A partial explanation, which has been suggested, is that a canoe or canoes were going from one island to another and were blown out of their course; this would account for the fact that there must have been sufficient provisions on board to sustain life for so long a voyage. According to native legend the place of destination was revealed to their ancestors in a dream. There is no doubt that the islanders are not of pure origin. They vary much in colour, from a sallow white to a fairly deep brown. They are quite conscious themselves of this variation, and in giving their genealogies were always prepared to state which of their relations were light and which were dark. The chief, Gnaara, to whom reference was made, was described as "quite white." The skulls brought back by the expedition, which have been kindly examined by Dr. Keith, bear out the same conclusion of a mixed race. Such mixture may, however, very possibly have taken place prior to the arrival on the island. The legend of a conflict between a people with "Long Ears" and a people with "Short Ears" is well established, but its origin is not easy to trace. The natives say that they are descended from the victorious "Short Ears," although we know, as has been said, both from themselves and from the early voyagers, that their ancestors were in the habit of enlarging the lobe in the same manner as is shown in the statues. No real account is forthcoming as to who were the people with "Long Ears." There is a possible explanation for the story, but I hesitate to put it forward here.

The language is apparently Polynesian. There is no written grammar and

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only two or three slight vocabularies. I learnt enough before the end of our sojourn to converse fairly easily with the most intelligent of the younger men, and he assisted me in understanding the accounts and stories of the older people. Earlier work was done through French, Spanish, and a kind of pidgin English. A study of the comparative table of Polynesian tongues shows that words from many of the groups in the Southern Pacific appear in the language, but its exact classification is of course a question for experts.

The time and labour employed in making the images was probably not as great as would appear at first sight. The stone found at Rano Raraku is very easily cut, and with few exceptions all the statues are made from it. It is, as has been stated, possible to see how many men have worked at the same time on one statue. A rough calculation as to the amount of material to be removed and the rate at which the men could probably work gave the surprising result that a statue could be turned out in a fortnight. It is obvious that it is the existence of this easily quarried stone which gives us the statues of Easter Island. The moving of the images from the quarry to the terraces must on the contrary have been a most arduous work, requiring much labour. The platform which the *Mohican* reported as standing on a cliff without visible means of access was situated on the narrow edge which separates the crater of Rano Kao from the sea. It has now, according to the statements of the natives, fallen entirely and the statues lie on the beach below. Similar erosion is taking place all round the coast. Special inquiries were made from the natives about the clothed "idol" made of dried grass mentioned by the Spanish Expedition in 1770. The description was at once recognized by one of the older men as applying to a figure which used to be made in memory of a deceased woman or child. The large wooden figures, "Paina," were, it will be remembered, erected in honour of men only.

The PRESIDENT: We have had a full and most interesting discussion among experts. I am sure all you will ask me is that I should endorse in the amplest manner the thanks which have been accorded to Mrs. Routledge for the thorough and clear manner in which she has dealt with the result of her protracted labours in Easter Island. We must also congratulate Mr. and Mrs. Routledge on the fruits which have resulted from their great enterprise in building the ship which not only carried them safely half round the world, but ran backwards and forwards for 2000 miles from Easter Island to America as if the Pacific Ocean were the English Channel. I beg to tender to Mr. and Mrs. Routledge our best thanks for the pleasant evening we have had.

Note.—We have received from Mr. H. F. Stainton a letter dealing with several points of interest that arise out of Mrs. Routledge's paper. The discussion which followed that paper was unusually long, and we regret that we have not space for more in the present number. We hope to deal with Mr. Stainton's letter in June.—EDS. *G. J.*

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[For information on recorded history see category 116. Since the entire source is a historical document it has not been marked separately for this category.]